

I. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

LOCATION

101 THE Cayul, frequently also called Colapal, and less frequently Colared,
Colapal, Colapal, and other similar designations,¹ are a Guaraní-speaking
(657) people of northeastern Brazil and adjacent Paraguay. The groups on the
Brazilian side of the boundary are at present located on various parts and
margins of the *Estado de Mato Grosso do Sul*, a Brazilian federal agency. All
131 the Cayul know to the north are the low hills between the great Rio Paraná
167 to the east and the Rio Paraguai to the west; from Ranger's² and other au-
*175 thors, this seems to have been approximately their traditional center of loca-
tion since the first entry of the white man into the region. Not long after
Ranger's Paraguay expedition (1812-1813), however, Cayul territory was
extended further to the north and also to the east of the Rio Paraná. Von
Döring, at least, affirms that such a movement of the Cayul from their tra-
ditional home in Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso took place only in
relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the state of Rio Paulo
and Paraná as late as 1812-1813.³ Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in
both details with von Döring, stating that the original home of the Cayul
has always been in northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that
the advancing whites and the war disturbances at the beginning of the last
century forced large numbers of Cayul to the southwest where they took
shelter on the lower Paranaíba River.⁴ This river is part of the north-
west boundary between Rio Paulo and Paraná, well to the northwest of present
(167) Cayul territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayul must
have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the
Rio Piria in the state of Rio Paulo and as far south as the Rio Iguazú. He
mentions that as early as 1811 there had been an attempt to establish a group
of Cayul as a reservation at Lemos de Azevedo, Paraná, in the valley of the
Paranaíba. Sampaio⁵ in 1880 reported numerous Cayul in the valley
of the same river. The former extension of the Cayul to the northwest of
their present territory thus seems well substantiated.⁶

*179 The Cayul, or at least certain of them, were apparently more Indian
• 501 and more fully paid or so up- and more groups were more recently, accord-
ing to von Koenigswald, writing in 1928.⁷ Sampaio also gives the impression

¹ Colapal, 1880, refers to a group of "Colapal" who he identifies with the Cayul. There were little indications for the name to me. The Colapal group was a Guaraní tribe of the Rio Paraguai. ² Ranger, 1812. ³ Von Döring, 1880, p. 28.

⁴ Von Koenigswald, 1928. ⁵ Sampaio, 1880.

⁶ Colapal, 1880, states, under a rather weak case for the long name of the "Colapal," (Cayul) in the region of Paranaíba, in the state of Rio Paulo. Von Döring then says that Guaraní people in the region have only three, and possibly four, names: Cayul or "Colapal."

⁷ Von Koenigswald, 1928, p. 28.

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of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.¹⁰ This fact would further support the idea of a formerly greater Cayuá territory. Being canoe people, they would have been more mobile and would have been able to travel widely on the Paraná and its many affluents, although actual settlements of Cayuá may not necessarily have been known in the Pardo and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Rio Paraná system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguaçu which flow through their present area.

What neither von Knippschild nor Sampaio seems to realize fully is the reason why the Cayuá were found to the east of the Paraná at that time. The time and the place of this eastward expansion should be considered in the light of the religiously inspired migrations of the "Apeirava-Guarani,"¹¹ close neighbors and cultural and linguistic relatives of the Cayuá. It appears that some Cayuá shared in the messianic impulses which led certain of their compatriots to abandon their homeland and start a migration toward the Atlantic. Thus the Cayuá may have been relative newcomers on the eastern side of the Paraná, except for whatever travel they formerly engaged in for fishing or hunting.

A map¹² published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, indicating that they had at that time already withdrawn or largely disappeared from those parts. Today they are almost completely confined to what seems always to have been their traditional home, southern Mato Grosso and northeastern Paraguay.¹³

CHICKENES

On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a serious or credible calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the files of the *Service de Peignage aux Indes* (similar to be referred to as the SPI). But a certain number of Cayuá live scattered in the woods or forests with nothing like a close village grouping, and of these no good count has probably been made.

Reporting for the year 1911, the SPI had the following to say about the numbers of the "Chiké":

The Chiké are, according to accessible information, the most numerous tribe of the south of the state of Mato Grosso. They live on the right bank of the Iratimé and in the region between this river and the Iguaçu. A large part of these Indians, in order to free themselves from the incursions of adventurers, have withdrawn to the interior.

¹⁰ Sampaio, 1895, p. 10.

¹¹ Chiké, 1911.

¹² Von Knippschild, 1911.

¹³ More extensive information as to the names and location of various Guaraní-speaking groups of the area may be had by consulting Willmann, 1928; and Costa, 1928.

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back of the shoulders and supported by a tampline, and the crude open-work "baskets," often hastily thrown together on the spot, for carrying by hand fruits, manioc, corn and the like. Basket weaving was men's work.

The men did not carry burdens to any great extent. The carrying they did was different from that of the women and was probably confined to small woven bags, made of *caraquist*, which hung from one shoulder. These usually contained only personal objects and were reputedly called *abandi* (the word for "two").

There seems to be some confusion as to the use made by the Cayuá of canoes. Métraux says that the Caiçua (apparently those of Paraguay) and the Chiriguano

are the only tribes of this family that possess no boats, which is to be explained by the absence of any easily navigable course of water in the region where they presently live. Their ancestors, the Guarani, were excellent paddlers and the Caiçua of Brazil [elsewhere specifically referred to as "Cayua ou Caiçua de Botel" (p. 41)], who live in a country with plenty of waterways, have inherited their qualities.*

However, few or no Cayuá of Brazil now use canoes extensively. It can only be said, therefore, that canoes were probably formerly widespread and important and that their use has diminished considerably according to the particular habitat of the group in question.

Today there are differences of clothing among the Cayuá of Paraguay, with different groups being called respectively "Baticolas," "Pai," or "Chiripá"—allegedly according to their characteristic costume. It may have been that formerly, too, there were differences among groups. At any rate, male loin-cloths of native cotton are indicated for the aboriginal culture, and there is a suggestion that these cloths were supported by cords twisted of human hair. To the women is ascribed the use of the familiar *chiripá* of the region, a sort of short kilt or apote, also of native cotton cloth. Ambrosetti, however, tells us that in one modern Guarani-speaking group, the Chiripá, both men and women used this article of clothing from which their name is taken.* Small caps of cotton are mentioned,* and the use of belts of human hair, as well as wristlets and "bangles" of hair, is indicated for the men. The use of leg windings, at least, seemed to have been related to the idea of staving off fatigue on the *marca*, while the *braceros*—the left one—are said to have served as protection against the snap of the bowstring. Some Cayuá used leather windings for this latter purpose.*

Rengger mentions "mantles" of cotton,* but no leather capes are suggested for the Cayuá such as are known to have been used by some of the coastal Tupi tribes. Some featherwork, however, was known among the

* Métraux, 1933, p. 207.

* Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 704.

* Jell, p. 704.

* Jell.

* Rengger, 1821, p. 121, of *pauhin*.

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ner which could hardly have been possible without the machete. *Tapeiros* "boards" have no convenient application in connection with the older style of house, the *tupai*. But they are more often than not used in building the smaller, individual family houses of the present day, which are peculiarly adapted to their use (see below, pp. 84-85). 177*
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The use of canoes by the aboriginal Cayuá has been mentioned, although it is not borne out by their employment or manufacture at the present. If canoes were formerly used, the lack of them now would seem in some way related to acculturation, and hence deserves mention here. Without canoes, the Cayuá do not travel extensively by families or groups. What travelling they do is done on foot—or individually by horse, in the case of a very few who own them. Although they may have been only slightly less sedentary aboriginally than now, it is probable that with canoes the Cayuá were formerly able to range much farther afield (or upstream), using their villages as bases. 177*
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The ceramic art barely survives at Taquapiri. None of the younger women is learning to be a potter, and there are only four remaining potters among the oldest women. Of the four only two have recently made or intend to make any pottery in the near future, and even with them its manufacture is very irregular. Many of the girls and young women have never even seen pottery being made nor apparently expect to. The iron kettle and the tin can have almost entirely usurped the former place of pottery, and by far a majority of the households possess no pots of clay whatever. The woman's pipe, formerly of either wood or clay, tends to be of wood alone today. The conventional water gourd, and gourds and armadillo shells for other types of containers, however, have not declined in use. As a matter of fact, the gourd as a water vessel is quite practical and is to be found in not a few of the Neo-Brazilian households of the region. This continued use of gourds may derive some indirect advantage from the fact that gourds are also raised for use as *mboráá*, ceremonial rattles, which are far from waning in importance. 178*
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Men's carrying bags or containers for personal objects, *mbaká* (?), differ from the aboriginal ones; nor are they now usually objects of the native weaver's art as formerly. Men's double carrying bags of store cloth, something like small saddle bags, are slung over the shoulder, with one pocket hanging in front and one at the back. They constitute an exclusively male method of carrying, but are only occasionally worn, however. For small personal objects the only container observed was a little leather pouch, probably Cayuá-made, fastened at the belt, and used by boys and men. [482]
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Clothing, except for men's belts, is now entirely of store cloth. It is home sewn (with trade needles and thread), and the styles are typically Cayuá. Presumably they reflect the style of army uniforms at one time issued to the Indians. Thus men's trousers are apparently modelled on original military or riding breeches, since forgotten, which fit closely at the knee. Even in the 177*
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A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation. 177^u
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Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in change is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested. [224]
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II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted. 177^u
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The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, followed the example of the *Charras* and wore skin cloaks. In some *Caingú* groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper"). Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men.

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern *Guaraní* is a long T-shaped stick made of jataty resin; labrets of stone or bone were exceptional.^{2a} Women hang triangular shell pendants from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú.

At ceremonies, modern *Caingú* men wear feather wreaths, cotton sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects.

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants in religious ceremonies. On some beaddresses, feathers were mounted on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable.

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Caingú* groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but was similar to that of Franciscan monks.

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Caingú*. Other groups substitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, sometimes applied with bamboo stamps.

The ancient *Itatín* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery.

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The Paraguayan *Caingú* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing

^{2a} Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

*501 rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The Cayná of Brazil, who
 [171] reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

482 Carrying devices.—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular
 [285] twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. Páñ carrying baskets are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The Guarani skin
 [177] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.
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482 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips,
 854 but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 Basketry.—The Guarani weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of
 [824] pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembó strands. They are
 [531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 Spinning and weaving.—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow,
 [824] or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Ureva grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*) fibers.

286 Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a
 [283] circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua*.
 [531] The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably
 [386] an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably
 [824] through Arawak influence.
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323 Pottery.—Guarani ceramics are known through archeological finds in
 178 São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The Caingú, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 Leather work.—The Caingú carry their small possessions in skin bags.

411 Weapons.—Caingú bows are made of palm wood, guayailwi (*Pata-*
 824 *gonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*). They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section, and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

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ment of the Cayuá from their traditional home in Paraguay and the southern part of the state of Mato Grosso took place only in relatively recent times. He dates their entry into the states of São Paulo and Paraná as late as 1830-1852.³ Von Koenigswald agrees substantially in both details with von Ihering, stating that the original home of the Cayuá has always been northern Paraguay and southern Mato Grosso, but that the advancing whites and the war disturbances of the beginning of the last century forced large numbers of Cayuá to flee eastward where they took shelter on the lower Paranapanema River.³ This river is part of the east-to-west boundary between the Brazilian states of São Paulo and Paraná, well to the northeast of present Cayuá territory. Von Koenigswald further concludes that the Cayuá must have been numerous inasmuch as they formerly ranged as far north as the Rio Peixe in the state of São Paulo and as far south as the Rio Ivahí. He mentions that as early as 1855 there had been an attempt to establish a group of Cayuá on a reservation at Loreta de Pirapó, in the state of Paraná, in the valley of the Paranapanema. Sampaio⁴ in 1890 reported numerous Cayuá in the valley of the same river. The former extension of the Cayuá to the northeast of their present territory seems pretty well corroborated.

Another fact in support of the hypothesis that Cayuá territory was formerly more extensive than at present is that the Cayuá were apparently canoe Indians until at least some forty years or so ago — and some groups presumably until more recently, according to von Koenigswald, writing in 1908.⁵ Sampaio also gives the impression of a notable use of the canoe by the Cayuá.⁶ Being canoe people would have made them much more mobile and enabled them to travel widely on the excellent fluvial system of the Paraná and its many affluents, even if actual settlements of Cayuá had not been known in São Paulo

³ Von Ihering, Hermann, "A anthropologia do Estado de São Paulo", *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VII, 1907 (São Paulo), p. 204.

⁴ Von Koenigswald, Gustav, "Os Cayuá", Portuguese translation from the German, *Globus*, vol. XVIII, n° 24 by F. W. Sommer, collection of Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro).

⁵ Sampaio, Teodoro, "Considerações Geográficas e Econômicas sobre o Valle do Rio Paranapanema", *Boletim do Conselho Geográfico e Geológico do Estado de São Paulo*, n° 4 (São Paulo, 1890).

⁶ *Op. cit.*

⁷ *Op. cit.*

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657 them. Some of the older Cayuá say they remember an individual they called "General" who allegedly established for them a much larger territory, which, however, was not apparently surveyed.¹⁸ The present *reservas* of the Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso were probably established not more than 20 or 30 years ago, and any close supervision of them by the S. P. I. is, in most cases, still more recent.¹⁹ The *posto* from which Taquapiry affairs are "supervised" dates only from the 30's, and the supervision is virtually nominal inasmuch as the officer in charge does not seem to visit the place more than three or four times a year.

182 The expanding white frontier resulted in a limitation of the
648 former territories as well as (in effect somewhat the same thing) a
433 limitation of traditional Cayuá mobility. We shall see that this
restriction of territory and mobility inhibited Cayuá economic development in one direction, gradually at first, but finally almost completely: the Cayuá sooner or later found it impossible to live principally by hunting and fishing, with only a supplementary agriculture.

The Question of Cayuá Canoeing

• 501 Unless we admit the possibility that there may have been both
178 canoe and non-canoe Cayuá, or at least some differences between
484 Cayuá groups with regard to the extent of use of the canoe, we must be rather impressed by the short space of time which has elapsed since Sampaio and von Koenigswald wrote, around the turn of the century, describing the development of canoe travel. Sampaio records that "the Cayuá are still excellent canoers and very able swimmers, performing veritable feats of skill in the turbulent currents of white-water rivers; they are consummate devotees of river travel."²⁰ And von Koenigswald writes: "Of the greatest importance to the Cayuá are their canoes... in which they make voyages lasting months."

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¹⁸ This would probably place the time of the first presumed limitation of territory at Taquapiry as about 1905.

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¹⁹ Facts and dates concerning the actual establishment of these *reservas* and the S. P. I. administration of them are probably available in the archives of the S. P. I. Unfortunately for the completeness of this paper, such information had not been received at the time of writing. The exact dates, however, are not of primary importance to the present theme.

²⁰ Sampaio, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

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In order to explore new regions for hunting and fishing possibilities, to visit distant relatives or friends, these Indians employ waterways almost exclusively, principally when the rivers are full and the rapids and falls easier to pass. On these voyages the entire family is accommodated in the canoe....²¹

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These observations on the extent, skill, and dexterity with which the Cayua formerly used the canoe are all the more interesting since the Cayua of Taquapiry, as well as other Cayua of southern Mato Grosso, apparently do little or nothing with the canoe today. The Taquapiry group lives at some distance from navigable waters, and practically all of their travelling, usually not very extensive, is done overland.²²

By abandoning the canoe, the Cayua gave up one of the most obvious and most useful means of moving about in a region served largely by the extensive fluvial system of the great Paraná and its tributaries. This fact, together with the facts that the Cayua frontier had been gradually receding over a period of many years, and that the Cayua were finally assigned to *reservas* represent major forces for Cayua sedentarism. Whether the Cayua gave up the canoe because they were assigned to territories where canoes would be of little utility, or whether the canoe had already been more or less abandoned in the general process of "retreat", before the assignment to *reservas*, is an interesting question though one which is somewhat peripheral to our purpose here.²³

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²¹ Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

²² It could not be said, however, that because the Cayua no longer use canoes, nor have used them for some years, at least, the technique of making canoes is dying out among them. The large wooden tanks or vessels, which they carve from solid tree trunks in order to make the "tanks" necessary in the preparation of communal *chichas*, are made in essentially the same way as the dugout canoe of the region. They are up to twenty feet or more long. Baldus (Dr. Herbert Baldus, Professor of Ethnology, Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo) called the attention of the writer to the fact that von den Steinen describes the use by the Yuruna, a Tupi tribe of the Rio Xingú, of the canoe as a vessel for fermented drinks and the paddle as a stirring ladle. An analogy between the canoe and the wooden *chicha* vessel of the Cayua is quite apparent as to the form and the technique of manufacture.

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²³ It may be significant, when considering the disappearance of canoeing in the case of the Cayua, to record that migrating whites in Brazil characteristically chose river-course routes, especially in difficult country. Canoe Indians may for

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